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ABSTRACT

An appraisal of three approaches for curtailing teacher education programs is presented with a focus on the United States, Ontario, and England during the interval 1970 to 1977. The examples illustrate three theoretical approaches to planning: social demand, which is measured by student enrollments; cost benefit, which compares the costs of programs compared to the extra productivity or earnings of graduates; and manpower planning, which analyzes the market and labor force to assess needs. The research emphasizes that none of the three countries managed the collapse of teacher education programs particularly well, and opportunities for emphasizing quality through the change were missed. Final recommendations emphasize (1) diversifying educational modes in an effort to promote life-long education; (2) making adjustments systematically; (3) retaining resources (including human resources) in the face of short-range economy measures. A bibliography is included. (DS)

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COLLAPSING EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS. COMPARISONS OF POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION IN TEACHER EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTION

Theoretical Considerations. Economists have distinguished among social demand, cost benefit, and manpower planning techniques for educational planning (Blaug, 1967, 1-8). These techniques provide some of the parameters used by planners, administrators and policy makers. As conventionally employed, social demand is measured by student enrolments, which in turn respond to several kinds of data about society. Cost benefit refers to the costs of programmes, including academic salaries, rent value of instructional premises, time of students (i.e., lost salaries) compared to the extra productivity or earnings of graduates. Manpower planning requires analysis of the market and labour force, projecting demands and adjusting enrolments of each faculty to harmonize with these predictions.

In a purely mechanical approach to planning, the persons teaching or administering the programmes would be treated in theory much as if they were part of the physical facilities, just as classical economists viewed labour as a commodity to be procured or disposed of rapidly or repeatedly if necessary to accomplish the primary goal of entrepreneurship. In real life this is not possible. Modern industrial societies have many structural inhibitions to substantial mid-career adjustments -- including credentials, seniority systems, pension plans, mortgages, and obligations beyond employment. Therefore it is generally accepted that career dislocation demands financial compensation, in amounts that depend upon many factors. The market place (both the public and private sectors) may not always be able to provide sufficient numbers of equivalent occupations

for highly specialized, well paid persons likely to be displaced. 'Justice' may involve shielding employees from dismissal or early retirement, arranging supplementary pensions to permit early retirement, subsidizing their employment in other fields and/or retraining for relatively short-lived second careers. It may also be economically sensible to provide such compensation. Betraying the trust of public sector employees who have frequently foregone higher earnings as free professionals, would lead to their disgruntlement, leading to all public servants pressing for competitive salaries.

Normally it is not necessary to provide for large numbers of similarly qualified persons at the same time. During prosperity, professionally qualified people move readily into industry, sales, management and trades. They are found to be adaptable, resourceful and congenial employees. In a period of stagnation such persons are threats, so attempts are made to describe them as 'unemployable' in private sector functions.

Perhaps 'non-economic' contributions ought to be reexamined. If some means can be found for providing a reasonable income, persons may seize the opportunity to pursue some personal goals, including creative expression, volunteer work for various agencies and similar activities of possible benefit to society (Galbraith, 1972, 150-167). In western societies no planner could prescribe such complex career readjustments, but unrestrained economists have significant respect for the contribution of work justified by social rather than material considerations (Galbraith, 1976). This spirit is reflected in this presumptuous analysis of decisions associated with educational collapse.

The Collapse of Teacher Education. The educational systems of all industrial societies are composed of interlocking sectors, each dependent upon the numbers of students attending or planning to attend the others. Each sector reflects a combination of the birth rate of a stipulated earlier period, migration, economic forces of local or international significance, and a variety of social variables -- such as the attitude toward women in the work force. Demand for teacher education is controlled by several factors: the numbers of school pupils, the size of classes, the length of the typical teaching career, vacillations in the numbers of teachers retiring, and assumptions about 'quality' which would be reflected in the length, diversity and recurrance of professional training. In some respects these factors are reflected in educational finance. From the end of the Second World War to about 1970 teacher education expanded more or less continuously in western societies, following generally optimistic trends in most of the variables mentioned. Since then there has been an abrupt decline. Basically this decline occurred because of the coincidence of four changes: the decline of enrolment, initially in the primary grades; the achievement of long proclaimed goals that every teacher should be 'adequately trained'; the rapid increase in the length of typical teaching careers, particularly for women; and the declining willingness to pay for education. Each of these changes resulted in downward adjustment of the numbers of places projected or required for teacher education. When they coincided, the extent of cutback justifies the term "collapse".

Nevertheless this collapse is but the first of several that can be foreseen in activities related to youth. The planning or coping

experience from this adjustment may prove instructive in the near future.

Foreseeing Collapse. Certain problems within the educational systems of industrial nations are growing more serious, so several of the assumptions, certain institutions, and major sections of financial support are threatened with collapse. In general terms the problems have been identified by several critics: too much was being expected or promised for education to deliver reliably (Burton, 1972, 4-36); costs have ballooned to the danger point (Illich, 1971, 1-10); there was some confusion between professional rights and featherbedding (Simpson, 1975, 48-54); there had been an erosion of standards (Judge, 1975, 4-10); students felt betrayed by their teachers (Loken, 1973, 39-54). Probably all of these complaints were at least sometimes true. Financial collapse may be related to such disillusion.

Educational collapse stems in part from pressures beyond the control of educators. For example, economic conditions by themselves might dictate collapse. There might be more retired people who need support, rising expectations for health care and some agreement that society should provide it; the need to redevelop decaying city environments, improve public transportation, provide better protection against crime. These and similar demands for tax funds made it more difficult for education to obtain more resources. Inflation and rising energy costs reduced the willingness and ability of the public to pay more. Old solutions were not always working, and when institutions were geared to outmoded requirements, the required adjustments were so abrupt that they caused the weakest parts of the system to collapse. In geographical

terms this included metropolitan areas like New York or London. In sociological or political terms it was the equivalent of the old south - benign neglect (Levine, 1976). Among educational institutions, teacher and nursing education appear to be vulnerable at present, but many courses lead to uncertain vocational prospects. Collapse in any of these cases is much different from earlier times of trouble in education. For example, 1940-45 was a period when resources were generally assigned to military purposes, but the total demand for various kinds of education and training was very high (Kandel, 1948, 123-138). The economic depression preceding the war meant financial stringency, but education was frequently perceived as a potential solution to depression boredom and unemployment, or even to the depression itself (Counts, 1932). Despite hard times enrolments held up. The severe financial difficulties of such periods caused problems, and the management solutions then imposed might prove unacceptable today. They included long periods of delay in meeting salaries or other obligations, and perhaps making payment in odd currencies like potatoes or the offer of free board with the families of the community - a month with each (Chalmers, 1967, 82-86). There were sometimes unjust dismissals in efforts to ensure that local families had jobs, or that an unmarried person never kept a family from having at least one breadwinner. There were also dismissals of well qualified persons who could be replaced by someone willing to take less (McPherson, 1935, 252-259).

Historical Optimism. Shortly after peace in 1945 an educational take-off occurred, with expectations, enrolments, new programmes and the required resources soaring without faltering for a generation (Worth, 1972, 1-63). Industrial nations had previously achieved nearly universal elementary education, but during this period there was a growing demand for secondary and higher education (Ray, 1974, 1-23). Particularly important, opportunities came to previously excluded parts of the population (King, 1975). Complete secondary schooling, higher education, vocational skills of all types and eventually admissions to the professions of power and esteem became the objective of women, the poor and/or ethnic groups who had been previously consigned almost completely unrewarded menial or meaningless roles (Oliver, 1973, 11-12). A decade of peace made the outlines of this transformation clear in most modern nations.

The general prosperity of the period 1955-1970 meant that rising educational costs could be met, and the rising expectations meant that it would have been politically stupid to stem the expansion. Most governments under-estimated the demand despite the conviction of many economists that certain forms of education were particularly important reasons for the rising prosperity of the period (Schultz, 1971, 24-47). This combination of circumstances contributed to occasional overheating of the educational industry, a period when planners consulted ever rising enrolments and projected them without sufficiently compensating for other factors that were likely to have influence (OECD, 1972). This was a period when the post war baby boom swept through the system.

Minimizing Shock of Collapse. The declining birth rate brought an abrupt change. Table 1 traces this decline in representative nations. The smaller number of births was reflected progressively up the age range, first resulting in fewer potential kindergarten pupils, then successive years at primary school reversed their previously climbing enrolments (Jackson, Implications, 1971). One consequence was that fewer primary teachers were therefore required, perhaps implying that the normal attrition through retirement would not be replaced by new teachers, i.e., teacher education for elementary schools faced drastic cutbacks because graduates were unemployable until the teaching force again matched requirements. Throughout, the policy decision of pupil/teacher ratio must be weighed (Holmes, 1971).

Post-compulsory schooling was not necessarily affected in precisely the same way. Although fewer new students are entering secondary schooling, in some nations this decrease has been offset by increased retention for the senior years (Figure 1).

TABLE 1

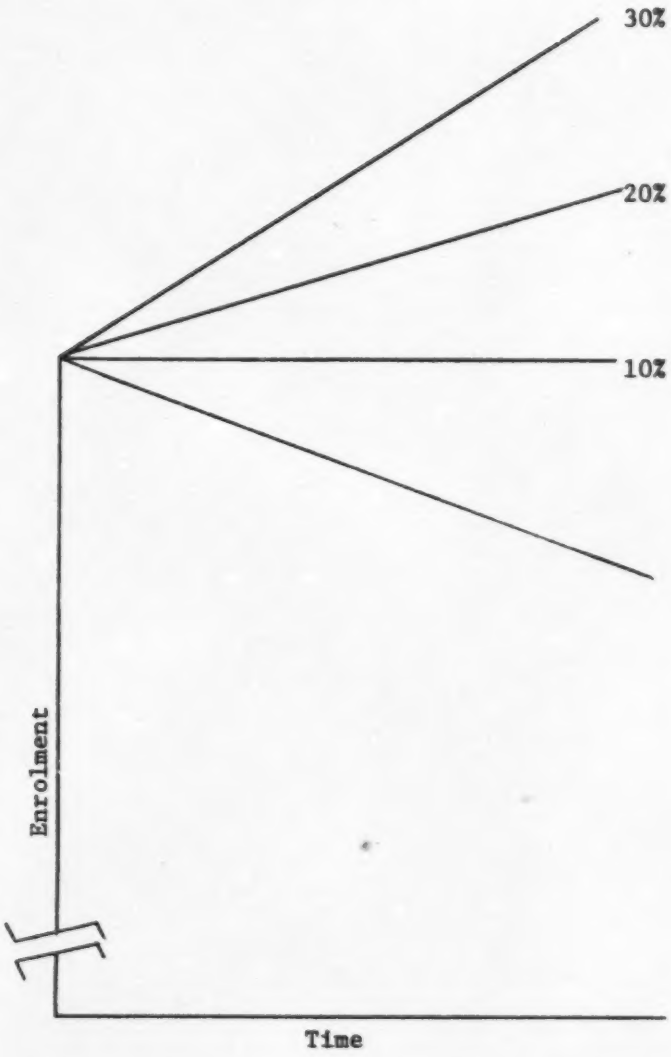
Birthrates in Selected Industrial Nations (live births/1000 population)

	1930-34	1940-44	1944-49	1950-54	1955	1960	1963	1965	1968	1970
AUSTRALIA	17.6	19.5	23.1	23.0	22.6	22.4	21.6	19.6	20.1	20.6
AUSTRIA	15.1	19.1	16.7	15.0	15.6	17.9	18.8	17.9	17.2	15.2
CANADA	22.2	23.2	27.0	28.2	28.2	26.7	24.6	21.4	17.6	17.4
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	19.7	20.8	22.4	22.0	20.3	15.9	16.9	16.4	14.9	15.9
ENGLAND & WALES	15.3	15.5	18.0	15.5	15.0	17.5	18.2	18.1	16.9	16.0
FRANCE	17.3	16.3	20.3	19.5	18.6	17.9	18.2	17.7	16.7	16.7
GERMANY (FDR)**	16.3	17.4	16.9	16.1	16.0	17.8	18.5	17.9	16.1	13.4
HUNGARY	23.2	19.3	19.9	21.1	21.5	14.7	13.1	13.1	15.1	14.7
ISRAEL*	30.6	25.1	28.6	32.4	29.2	26.8	25.0	25.8	25.5	26.7
ITALY	24.5	20.8	21.1	18.4	18.1	18.3	19.0	19.2	17.6	16.8
JAPAN	31.8	30.1	30.1	23.7	19.4	17.2	17.3	18.6	18.6	18.8
POLAND	28.9	N.A.	28.4	30.1	29.1	22.3	19.2	17.3	16.2	16.8
SWEDEN	14.4	17.7	19.0	15.5	14.8	13.7	14.8	15.9	14.3	13.7
SWITZERLAND	16.7	17.9	19.4	17.3	17.1	17.6	19.1	18.8	17.1	15.8
U.S.A.	17.6	19.9	23.4	24.4	24.7	23.7	21.7	19.4	17.5	18.2
U.S.S.R.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	26.4	25.7	24.9	21.2	18.4	17.2	17.4

* Prior to 1949 Israel data is for Jewish population of Palestine.
** Prior to 1945 German figures were for the 1937 borders.
Several nations have adjusted borders during the period of this data.
Source U.N. Demographic Yearbook (various years).

FIGURE 1

Projecting Secondary Enrolment



Projected enrolments with successive increased retention

Decline predicted from reduced birth rate

The attraction of complete secondary education or of higher education may not be purely academic; it may be a desire for social experience, explicit vocational preparation, or an environment preferable to unemployment and diminished status on the streets (King, 1974). However, the impact of lower birth rates upon secondary or higher education has only been masked - perhaps temporarily. Theoretically, if retention rates were to decline at the precise interval after the decline of birth rate, these post-compulsorary institutions would face the simultaneous collapse of both props to their present relative security. So serious an event would probably be shielded from funding sources for as long as possible (perhaps by defining drop-outs as 'enrolled' until the end of the year) but it may have begun - for example in certain U.S. cities where the majority of youth completed secondary schooling (Hecht, 1975, 172-175). Apparently many American youth now believe that however fast they improve their qualifications, the levels required for jobs recede at the same rate. They perceive schooling 'to get better employment' to have become a myth. The collapse of their confidence (if it has occurred on a large scale) requires remedies far beyond those available within the school system, principally because it focusses upon selection processes like racism or sexism that over-ride the promise of the schools. The American dilemma has been dramatized by the Bakke case, but similar confrontations between principles rarely reach the courts in most nations.

REGIONAL STUDIES

The European Possibilities. Most European nations face a very different educational adjustment: that of more youth staying voluntarily. There are the resulting problems of resources, buildings, books and teachers, but these are similar to the challenge of providing elementary education. More serious difficulties stem from the new objectives, new curricula, new teaching strategies, and the changing expectations of students (King, 1975). If 'voluntary enrolment' depended once upon schools accepting each student as 'educable', this is no longer true. The doors are open wide. Many teachers would concede that the numbers of students doing high standard work is continuing to climb, but they note the problems of those who are not reaching such levels (Heyns, 1974). In many countries the 'collapse' most serious in secondary education is in the confidence that a suitable curriculum can be devised for all the students without reinforcing social selection by such educational adjustments (Junne, 1975). The required support is therefore more than finding sufficient funds; it is maintaining or restoring the will and imagination of the teachers who face an unfamiliar problem (Valverde, 1976). Nevertheless, the realization that considerably expanded financial support has not brought the anticipated results may soon erode the willingness of society to provide still more. Despite the moderately healthy economies of industrial nations, post-compulsory education must at present be expanded under almost recession assumptions. For those nations experiencing economic reversals, the educational expansion implied by several indicators cannot easily be afforded. These straitened circumstances may be trans-

lated into a collapse of teachers' morale and willingness to undertake the changes implied by the expansion. More pupils and more courses are widely assumed to mean watered programs (Bantock, 1977).

Nevertheless, as suggested by Figure 1, a relatively modest increase in total costs during a dip in that particular age group would result in a significant expansion of educational opportunities - i.e., a larger fraction of the age group could be accommodated in post-compulsory education. Britain planned to use this dip to expand compulsory attendance from 15 to 16 (Newsom, 1963), but failed to implement the idea. This was not just a rejection of the idea of compulsion, although there is a lively debate in Britain about whether it is useful to compel young adults to attend schools. Costs were paramount. Secondary education had been relatively restricted, so efforts to provide rather general complete secondary education involve enormous expenses. As implied by Table 2, Austria, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey and the United Kingdom cannot easily finance general retention that might be accommodated by the United States, Canada, Sweden or Norway. Data for non OECD countries suggest that Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Germany similarly possess facilities nearly adequate for extending the typical period of secondary schooling. On the whole it appears that many nations are experiencing a collapse not so much a lack of resources but a lack of the *will to ensure equality of opportunity to certain still disadvantaged groups*. Because these minorities are often very small (2-5% of the group) governments may ignore their needs in the name of efficiency.

TABLE 2

FULL-TIME ENROLMENT RATES FOR CHILDREN AGED 15-18

(per cent of population at each age enrolled in academic year beginning at date cited)

		15	16	17	18	15-18
Austria	1969	54.8	32.6	23.6	16.4	31.9
Belgium	1966	75.1	61.3	47.0	33.2	54.2
Denmark	1970	85.2	66.8	31.8	23.2	51.7
Finland	1967	(59.2)	51.9	43.5	35.2	47.4
France	1970	80.5	62.6	45.1	29.1	54.3
Germany (a)	1969	54.9	30.8	20.4	15.7	30.5
Greece	1969	56.8	49.1	45.8	26.1	44.7
Iceland	--	--	--	--	--	--
Ireland	1967	82.4	64.3	46.5	31.8	56.3
Italy	1966	42.1	33.6	27.4	20.2	30.8
Luxembourg	1970	67.9	56.5	42.3	31.2	49.5
Netherlands	1970	79.7	60.6	41.5	28.4	52.3
Norway (b)	1970	94.2	74.6	59.8	46.5	68.9
Portugal	1970	30.1	25.4	22.0	20.4	24.5
Spain	1970	35.0	29.6	22.8	19.0	26.7
Sweden	1972	96.7	74.00	60.8	40.8	68.1
Switzerland	1970	94.6	61.5	52.7	27.4	61.4
Turkey	1968	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	(21.1)
United Kingdom	1970	73.0	41.5	26.2	17.6	39.4
Yugoslavia	1968	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	36.6
Australia	1971	81.5	54.2	37.2	23.6	49.4
Canada (c)	1970	98.0	89.1	77.2	45.8	78.1
Japan	1970	(83.8)	(79.0)	(74.8)	(29.9)	(65.8)
United States (d)	1970	97.7	93.5	86.2	53.8	82.9

(a) Excludes part-time compulsory vocational schools.
(b) Includes a very minor number of part-time pupils.
(c) Excludes enrolments in trade schools and schools for handicapped.
(d) Including part-time students in higher education.
( ) Estimates.

OECD The Educational Situation in OECD countries, Paris: OECD, 1974.

Higher education, particularly full time general and vocational programmes, presents a similarly dramatic challenge (Carlsson, 1971). In most industrial nations, demand for higher education is growing, sometimes very rapidly. Because existing facilities are in most cases used to near capacity, expansion is particularly costly if existing standards are to be retained (Anderson, 1975, 287-300). In the face of all the other demands for resources, it would sometimes be politically impossible for governments to provide a significant increase for higher education, however desirable that might be. The most dramatic expansion occurred in France, and it proved politically convenient at the time.

Cost-effectiveness and manpower requirements arguments are now more important. Greater attention is being paid to the kinds of education required for developing priority areas of society, to alternative ways of providing comparable education more cheaply, or to changes necessary in order to increase the participation of sectors of the population still relatively by-passed by higher education (OECD, 1974). Although social demand remains high in many fields, few governments are now willing to provide expanded services justified primarily upon this basis. However, 'manpower requirement' planning presents a new problem. Once society has directed students to study in a particular field, there is at least tacit obligation to provide employment after graduation. This area presents great difficulty to management, because the employment market is fluctuating substantially, there is a tremendous reservoir of willing young workers with relatively good general educations able to earn specialized qualifications very quickly, and several professions resent changes which might flood the market and perhaps thereby reduce the earnings of those already established. And the high degree of government control customary

for education is rarely matched by an ability to provide jobs to graduates.

The 'collapse' in higher education therefore refers to three situations: the unwillingness of society to funnel sufficient resources to match changes in demand, an erosion of the confidence of students or society that graduation will lead to career security and/or the recognition of educators that they may be directing their energies to the wrong tasks. Any of these areas of doubt lead to problems of redefinition of purpose and maintaining morale. In the long run they may lead to challenges to the traditional control systems, demands for new objectives and perhaps declining resources.

CASE STUDIES

The United States, Canada and England have recently seen substantial collapses within their teacher education systems. Perhaps each emerged (or will emerge) with a better capacity than before the debacle; but none managed the collapse particularly well. Management proved unresponsive to signals for change, divisive and selfish when change was finally forced and careless of the human resources that had been accumulated. All three countries missed an opportunity to emphasize 'quality' in more aspects of education, for example, teacher educators were allowed to retire or find alternative employment that made little use of their special qualifications rather than being redeployed in other sectors of the educational system. To some extent the mismanagement can be reckoned financially, but there are also questions of human dignity. The remedies were not sought by consultation or negotiation with the full circle of the institutions potentially involved(Stopsky, 1975).

The United States. Several American regions have experienced an oversupply of qualified teachers beginning in the late 1960's. This was created by several factors. Expansion of all forms of higher education resulted in steadily increasing numbers of graduates with teacher qualifications. The revolution of life styles meant more women teachers remained professionally active after marriage. The declining birth rate meant enrolments in primary grades rose slowly if at all. Favoured states like California experienced a steady influx of well qualified teachers from other states, and even from other countries. And finally the pressure from rising taxes (partly associated with the war in Viet Nam) led first to an arrest, then a reversal in the trend toward more favourable teacher/pupil ratios. Inevitably the gap between demand and supply widened (Ward, 1975).

For a time free market conditions operated. Potential teachers trained as before, but in many states one third or more were unlikely to find a position. For them, their educational degree constituted a liberal rather than a vocational education, about as expensive and useful as a B.A. in literature or history. Society, university authorities and state financial analysts seemed to accept this justification until the pressure to reduce the costs of higher education called for further action (Ward, 1975, 192-194).

American colleges responded as expected to the new market realities. General financial support was cut back slightly, so resigning or retiring faculty were not necessarily replaced, travel grants and materials purchases were reduced and building programmes arrested. Recruiting of junior faculty was reduced sharply and those hired had little prospect of gaining tenure.

However, energetic and innovative faculties (or individuals) could still find relatively generous financial support, provided they emphasized means of lessening social injustices, promoting effective learning or reducing costs (Hughes, 1972). The difficulty of *demonstrating* tangible benefits favoured certain kinds of innovations: competency based education, individually guided instruction, accountability, differentiated staffing, etc. These were often criticized as mere technology (Muller, 1970). But some approaches that were strongly supported for social or cultural reasons failed to demonstrate conclusive benefits and were consequently de-emphasized: compensatory education for example (Jencks, 1973). Arguments that justified or attacked certain educational practices involved much more than academic considerations. A multi-million dollar empire had grown up around the decision to bus children in efforts to desegregate; the testing industry proved particular cautious about joining battle in the debate about achievements. And nobody expected civil rights conditions to be relegated to those of 1954.

Management by social demand demonstrated certain strengths during the collapse of numbers of teachers required. It provided an oversupply of interested and qualified teachers, permitting the best to be selected (Ward, 1975). It became possible to insist that every teacher should obtain at least one degree. It probably focussed the attention of faculty more clearly upon the problems of society and of the schools where their graduates might find work (Brown, 1977).

The system failed to dampen undesired responses, and future studies will probably show these were institutionalized. For example, the reduction in recruiting for well qualified professors means that faculties

of education temporarily have relatively high proportions of older, high ranked and highly paid professors; with few young persons to work closely with them over extended periods. When those mature scholars retire (most of them in the next few years) an active recruiting campaign will be necessary, but universities may have lost the continuity of research, instructional programmes and inter-institutional contacts that gained world recognition for American teacher education. Perhaps less serious, the lump of new appointments will present a financial challenge as promotions and seniority result in many of them securing high salaries a generation from now.

Canada. The Ontario government followed the examples of several other provinces and withdrew from Ministry sponsorship of teacher education (Wright, 1972, 106-107), a decision prompted in part by an anticipation of reduced school enrolments coinciding with the need for new approaches to satisfy the increasingly mature and well educated candidates enrolling. Provincially controlled teachers' colleges had traditionally provided a one-year programme to students lacking qualifications to enter university, but by 1973 they required a degree before admission. Both faculty recruited for the old conditions and the programmes evolved for undergraduates fared badly in competition with university controlled Faculties of Education in Ontario or other provinces. In effect the collapse of the old teachers' colleges represents one example of cost/benefit analysis.

When the teachers' colleges were closed, their facilities were given to other educational institutions and their faculty were presented to universities, with no tenure promised beyond four years. One university bridled at the proposal, insisting that its selection of faculty would not be circumvented at the government's convenience. All other

cases resulted in the trial employment, with opportunity for the displaced masters to obtain study leave, find suitable other work or win the right to continuing tenure. A few approaching retirement did none of these things. Probably most who sought tenure achieved it, but the distinction between denial of tenure and retirement or accepting another job is undeniably blurred, and not necessarily a matter of public record. Other Canadian provinces had earlier closed their teachers' colleges or normal schools by identifying their teachers and other resources as part of the foundation stock of a new faculty of education or pressing a university to accept them with tenure as members of such a faculty (OECD, 1975). The Ontario method resulted in little hostility from the universities but probably more inconvenience or injustice to the teachers concerned. The other professors of Ontario faculties of education escaped close scrutiny to see how they might be pared to help reduce the over capacity for teacher education, a matter presumably resented by those in teachers' colleges. This oversight may soon be remedied.

England and Wales. Re-organization in Britain shared some objectives and problems with the Ontario reform. However, the functions of colleges of education in England and Wales resembled those of faculties of education in the United States rather than Ontario teachers' colleges. Their programmes included more liberal education courses; they were two, three or even four years long, and the longer programmes led to degrees awarded by prestigious universities (Hewett, 1971). In short they provided a liberal education of acceptable standards concurrently with developing the vocational requirements of modern teaching. Although

they were often relatively small and their faculties recruited on the basis of excellence in school teaching, the quality of work in the colleges of education was monitored by external examinations. It is not clear how their programmes compared with those of Institutes of Education (departments of various universities) in the quality or employability of graduates, their cost of operation or other dimensions. However, perhaps they emphasized children more than subject matter (Bowker, 1968). Nor is it clear how colleges varied in these respects, and therefore if these factors determined which colleges should be closed. Nevertheless the 100 colleges operating in 1972 are being reduced to less than 60 by 1981. By then more than one third will have been sliced from the 1972 training cpacity, and several thousand lecturers from the closed colleges will become redundant. These figures differ markedly from those proposed in Education: A Framework for Expansion (D.E.S., 1972), when declining demands for new teachers were to be offset by prolonging teacher education in the interests of quality. The 114,000 places of 1972 were then expected to dwindle to 75,000-85,000 by 1981. Some mergers of colleges of education, perhaps creating more diversified programmes, were then envisaged. An early optimism about quality and diversity (Peck, 1975) quickly gave way to serious fears for the future of many colleges and their staffs, and also for the effect upon polytechnics that incorporated one or more colleges of education (Elliott, 1974). Part of the hostility was assuaged by the relatively generous salary increase recommended in the Houghton Report (1974), and persons leaving posts in the colleges of education for schools suffered no loss of salary.

But the problems for England and Wales remained the same as those of Ontario. First, whether justice was done could not easily be determined, but it was not seen to be done (Venning, 1976). Those in the university sector were protected almost completely from the necessary cuts; but the relative merits of university programmes were more assumed than determined. Secondly, the talents of the faculty involved may well have been lost to education simply because so many colleges were closed abruptly: there was too little time either to seek alternative employment or to secure further training that would permit suitable work to be found. This might not be serious if every level of education was simply bursting with talent; but if one assumes that each system contained a similar proportion of good and bad teachers, it seems a pity that greater efforts were not made to identify and retain the best persons in new functions. The procedures followed in England and Wales seem to have been particularly clumsy in this regard. Whole colleges were closed by phasing out their junior years so that the staff were progressively designated as redundant. Meanwhile other colleges had no extra funds and no procedures by which they could employ any of those persons needed for their programmes. Nevertheless schools stood to benefit, being able to secure a person with unusually good qualifications and experience without having to pay the whole salary Redundant lecturers were able to retire earlier than usual on adjusted pensions or take jobs in schools without loss of pay (Department of Education and Science, 1975).

PROPOSALS

The management decisions associated with the collapse of systems for teacher education in the United States, Ontario, and England and Wales were admittedly imperfect. Nevertheless, the 'best' solutions from economic, political and educational perspectives rarely coincided, so any decision would necessarily be wrong from at least two points of view. Popular acceptance - at least in the long run - of managerial decisions is a preoccupation in a democracy, so what alternatives can be proposed with the benefit of hindsight?

Perhaps a case can be put very briefly for *diversifying educational modes* in an effort to promote life-long education; to caution that *support of such programmes must be retained as a public responsibility*; to urge that *adjustments, demotions and firing should be based on system rather than sector analysis*; and to urge that the *carefully accumulated resources* - including human resources - *should not be dissipated for short range economy measures*. These points are elaborated briefly to conclude this study of collapse. Their interrelationships may be stressed.

Learning To Be (UNESCO, 1972) advocated that 'life long education' become the present objective. Embracing this philosophy would imply deversified approaches, adding the educational resources outside the formal schooling system but likely not to the formal system. Worth argued this case persuasively (1972). Perhaps the United States is moving in that direction, particularly if non-teaching educators can find a way of using their skills effectively. However, since these educators now depend almost exclusively upon the private sector for

financial support, their services will likely exacerbate existing inequalities. They will work only for the relatively affluent who can afford their services, or they will be supported "to provide for the deserving poor". By using a nineteenth century phrase we see what is really involved. It is a negation of the tradition of the schooling system of the United States, which has been characterized by its egalitarian aspirations (Cremin, 1966). The consequences of the educational networks now materializing seem likely to be quite the opposite from what was predicted by Illich (1971) or Reimer (1971).

Division among the educators of Canada or Britain is reflected in their reaction to the changes outlined. If the objectives of 'tuning the institutions' were to promote quality while trimming unneeded capacity, perhaps all educators should have been subjected to similar scrutiny. Selecting only certain teacher educators was apparently not justice: others in protected institutions may have been less effective. Equally possible, the redundant teacher educators may have been well suited to school positions, but incompetent persons in those institutions (if any could be identified) were secure from dismissal. Such assessments would have been difficult and sometimes mistaken, but the dismaying truth is that they were not even attempted.

A personal belief that few teachers at any professional level are incapable of improving their work leads to a final proposal. The present over-supply of relatively experienced and sophisticated educators might be used to provide in-service education, to second teachers who want to attend courses, or to serve as auxiliaries in functions like diagnosis of individual problems, to consult on institutional changes, and/or to develop and test new curricula. By such approaches the inevitably high

cost of collapsing unneeded capacity could be used to cope with problems in other aspects of education. If the occasion again arises, I hope education will benefit from the opportunity to change.

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